/913 cont./

881 264 were received with a loud hóhohohohō. Immediately the coffee was poured into another vessel and the painted pot was promptly and noisily tossed out of the hut. Although it could not be seen from the camp, one could at least hear it come banging out. The other man danced through the hut several times with the stick bearing the large loaf of bread before it was cut into pieces. Such an extra meal refreshes the people and stimulates them to more lively singing.

881 264 535 Aside from these rare occasions, a delegation is appointed and sent out by the leader on some days at the time of the regular evening meal, while the inmates are dancing. As we know, they hold their dance staffs crosswise while they are dancing. Thus, when the two or three men leave the čiéxaus hut at the proper moment, they dance over to the cookhut maintaining the same tempo, one behind the other, and swinging their dance staffs with rolling movements of their hands and arms. They do not enter, but the women there hand the food out to them, hanging the little basket of mussels, a large piece of meat, or a filled leather pouch on their dance staffs. As they return to the čiéxaus hut, the dancing men constantly swing their dance staffs up and down, in spite of the burden. Whatever they bring is hastily received at the Great Hut, usually through the entrance before they step inside. The loud yelling and furious knocking on the ground are supposed to announce that Yetá'ita is taking all the food for himself and disappearing with it into the earth. Without delay the little basket or the small leather pouch is again shoved on the proffered dance staff of the men, but instead of food it now contains ashes or a glowing stick of wood which they bear to the cookhut in dance step. They may /914/ not appear there without a return gift; indeed, they come purposely to bring it in recompense for the food, as it were. They conspicuously pour out what they have brought at the entrance. This proves to the people in the camp that the food brought over from the cookhut was quickly removed from the container and pulled into the čiéxaus hut, but that the bearers themselves did not get any of it.

881 264 All the food remains to the last trace are destroyed in the fire immediately after the meal, partly out of cleanliness, partly in order to further the belief that Yetá'ita alone consumes all the food that reaches the Great Hut. Outside visitors are admitted

/917 cont./
X881 302 floor in two rows was lighted by the glow of the fire. These white figures seemed like creatures from another world. The dull, dirty rags of culture into which the Yamana today wrap themselves have regrettably put an end to this strange and very effective costume.

γ. Song and Dance

X881 533 535 A person who enters the čiẽxaus hut wishes above all to give himself up to self-reflection and undisturbed concentration. The disposition of human beings, however, calls for change within a certain time span, in order to refresh the spirit and give strength for new efforts. Hence almost every day is concluded with dances in the late evening.

The Yamana reveal no particular talent for either song or dance. Nevertheless, they have created a few very simple melodies in which either the same tone is repeated rhythmically or simple combinations, mostly thirds, alternate. They are not familiar with round dances or complicated dance figures, but instead, with amazing mimicry, they imitate the particular type of animal which they wish to portray. This ability of our Fuegians will be described in more detail below. Here we simply point out that particularly in the čiẽxaus hut they enjoy dancing and singing to the point of satiety.

X881 533 1. The Constant Singing. There must never be complete silence in the Great Hut, either day or night. At least one person must sing in an audible voice. The reason given is that this is to prove to the spirits, especially Yetáita, that the people assembled here are awake. At the very beginning of the celebration, after the participants have assembled and have given themselves up for two or three hours to thoughtful meditation, the leader or overseer starts the low singing, other persons gradually join him, and after that it does not cease until the end of the long event. /918/ When most of the people present have gone to sleep in the late evening, some persons will remain in the squatting position and continue singing. If later on the latter, too, should abandon themselves to sleep, one of the sponsors will keep up the singing, for there is always one person awake to watch over each uřwiala.

/918 cont./

X881 533 hold fast to his thoughts about his own ego without any particular effort. The singing is so monotonous that it does not require the slightest attention, but the rhythm that carries it along is hammered into each one so strongly that, by means of it, he remains forcefully bound to the thoughts about his own ego, and would immediately be brought back to them should he become distracted. /919/ This evaluation explains a statement given by old Pedro: "I can reflect best when I am singing softly!" Persons who take up the singing are following their own personal urge. Now we realize why it may never entirely cease in the Great Hut.

2. Group Singing and Dancing. In contrast to the uniform singing described above, general participation in song develops in the late afternoon, accompanied by a sort of dance. This is the time when their inner agitation reaches its climax and seeks expression in voice and body movements. The singing is intensified, so to speak, to actual song. There is more modulation in the awái, the accent changes, and an actual melodic line comes in. Although it is brief, it is repeated with changing expression. Many of these melodies, which are full of moods, sound like Gregorian chants. In the final analysis they are an improved continuation of the constant, monotonous singing.

Almost without exception everyone present joins in this more accomplished way of singing; they do not all repeat the same melody together, but everyone now sings louder, with greater expression, and with lively participation. This evening song is a group affair and duty, whereas each individual loses himself in the monotonous singing throughout the day. The jumble of voices is even more confused than at other times, but still it is not annoying, since the ear involuntarily fastens upon one pleasant melody or another which takes its fancy. The impression of vocal confusion is in part reduced by the movement of the bodies of everyone present in time with the singing.

X881 535 Spiritual emotion makes the whole body tremble. The individual is no longer able to remain in his squatting position. He gets up, holds his dance staff horizontally between the outstretched fingers of both hands, and glides from one end of the Great Hut to the other through the central area where the fire is. Soon a second and third person follows. It becomes difficult to

X981
535

/919 cont./

keep the fire going with a few glowing embers, because the center section has had to be cleared, and at times almost the entire group of participants is dancing simultaneously. The dance consists of a quiet, solemn, and yet graceful gliding motion. The body is held upright and is not stretched or distorted; it sways only slightly forward and to either side. The movement and placing of the feet in taking steps and the graceful litheness of the erect body are very important. Some women show an unsuspected grace; other figures are clumsy.

The entire mass of crowded dancers moves more or less uniformly in this direction and that through the Great Hut. Here and there a person moves faster and glides past his neighbors, or one is slower and lets himself be pushed back. Often the sponsor will /920/ lift up his protégé so that he will take part in it. A few aged persons remain seated, but happily take an interest in the lively movement of so many persons. Usually the limited space inside does not permit everyone present to take part in the dancing at the same time. A few of them remain seated and wait until someone leaves the crowded cluster. Even those who remain crouched in their places move their bodies rhythmically in time with the song and with a corresponding rolling motion of their dance staffs up and down.

If there are only a few persons making the short, dance-like steps in the area of the fire, they arrange themselves in single file. The leader goes straight toward one of the exits; when he reaches it, he turns about-face and goes toward the other exit. The short row follows at his heels.

Sometimes the dancers arrange themselves in a compact knot so that each one can hardly take a step a few centimeters long. The space in which he can move is very limited, sometimes only one and a half meters. The entire cluster moves as far as possible from the spot, which inevitably presses it even closer together, and under this increased pressure each person makes a half turn, always in time with the song, followed by a movement in the opposite direction. A person can hardly hold his dance staff horizontally.

Now and then a single woman will place herself opposite a man or a single man opposite two women. Facing each other,

/920 cont./
they drag their feet, now in this direction, now in that, across the floor from one exit of the Great Hut to the other. At the same time they move the dance staff and sing continuously. This performance is a sort of competition to see who will continue the longest.

A sponsor who accompanies his protégé in the dancing stands beside him, grasps his dance staff with both hands, holds it vertically, and moves it straight up and down. This indicates that the uswáala shall grow erect and straight and become strong and powerful. The uswáala, therefore, joins in the same movements. Sometimes the candidate places himself behind his sponsor. The latter draws his dance staff horizontally across his back, and the uswáala, as he dances, holds onto it with both hands, tripping along behind.

If the persons present are overcome with sleepiness from exhaustion, the leader must encourage them and stimulate them to renewed lively singing. One evening the singing threatened to die out. For several minutes Santiago remained very quiet and motionless. Then he suddenly came alive and with loud waiting began to shed tears. Aroused, he groaned in a mournful voice: "Now at last the spirit [enthusiasm] has come over me! Everyone has a part in it. Let us all go on singing vigorously!" In point of fact, this stimulation had a positive effect on everyone.

/921/ Then Gertie stood up and resorted to the device sometimes employed to spur the indolent group to fervent singing. She picked up a burning stick, the length of an arm, and held it upright. Stepping along in time to the singing, she glided from one person to another as they squatted in their places and held the glowing end of the piece of wood very close to their faces. A shudder of fright passed through each person and thoroughly awakened him. No one would dare draw back his head, which would arouse the disapproval of his neighbors.

Another method is not quite so irritating. The few who are making an effort to sing and are being ignored by the majority grasp the upper end of their dance staffs, and with the lower tip they vigorously poke around in the fire so that the embers flare up and sparks fly in all directions. No one can misunderstand this sign, and immediately the singing becomes more animated.

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X881 533 The leader sometimes shouts encouraging words. At that time Santiago spoke as follows: "My spirit [enthusiasm] is still alive and strong. Thus I shall go on singing!" Black interrupted him: "Attention, everyone. We must sing with much more vigor!" Santiago continued: "So let us go on singing!" He himself made a great effort to stir up those present and make them take part enthusiastically. The vigorous singing lasted for 20 minutes. Suddenly Santiago cried: "Someone has painfully stepped on me. I feel very weak!" As a matter of fact, he was not feeling well at all that day. In order to make himself feel better, he jumped up and danced through the Great Hut. As he did so, he cried: "There in the land of my mother where I experienced the čiéxaus for the first time, I was never stepped on. But here someone stepped on my foot very painfully, awāi. But let us sing on!" He soon tired and slowed down, and the general singing again became weak.

X881 533 535 It is solely the mental state of the participants and the prevailing mood that determine the length of these group performances. Anyone who has become somewhat tired, usually through being too active, sits down for a few minutes and lets the compact mass of dancers pass by. Afterward he again joins the great cluster and acts as enthusiastically as before. Individual leaders inspire most of the others solely by their own attitude, and then the group singing and dancing sometimes lasts for more than two hours. Thick clouds of dust fill the whole interior of the čiéxaus hut, but in their eager animation everyone disregards it.

X881 535 786 While the singing proceeds with more or less uniform intensity, an individual is now and then seized with particular excitement. He will get to his feet as though he is furious and will move with trembling restlessness through the Great Hut from one exit to the other. In the process, a few people standing in the center are sometimes strongly shoved aside. They will say: /922/ "That person has been seized by kespiš [spirit, enthusiasm]!" The aroused person will dance back and forth in the čiéxaus hut until he is exhausted.

One evening clumsy Mary suddenly jumped up and stepped into the center. She breathed heavily as though she were raving mad and her whole body trembled. Furiously she grasped a piece

/922 cont./

X 881 of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth,
● 535 hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were
786 thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the čiéxaus hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Yamana explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his kēšpiš seizes him!"

X 881 It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the
535 evening singing and dancing almost always with the tá̀xer song,
533 the so-called song of the yékamuš. It is begun by some person who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the tá̀xer song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirits" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the tá̀xer song is also intoned at the end of the entire čiéxaus celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

X 881 The particular purpose of the tá̀xer song is "to attend to
533 the spirits who have come from afar to the čiéxaus gathering,
781 to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

/922 cont./

X881 533 781 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the čiéxaus they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary čiéxaus state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the tíxer song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various kétpif assembled in the čiéxaus hut do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the passionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X881 533 535 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the ůwůala also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his hapaxél on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X881 312 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 788). The facial painting of the ůwůala is, of course, renewed in the evening.

X 881 302 769 /924 cont./ drawings and patterns are carried out, depending on the artistic fancy that creates them. Each person present, of course, wears the hapaxél and carries his short, decorated dance staff.

X 881 535 769 With this painted ornamentation and in memory of the deceased, the individual dances back and forth for a while, gliding through the entire room. As is the case with these dance movements in general, the body is held almost straight, the legs are bent somewhat at the knees, and the feet are placed one behind the other, close together. The left foot hops a few centimeters forward and the right foot is pulled after it. The fingers of both hands hold the dance staff horizontally or slightly diagonally and lift it slowly up and down with rolling motions toward the body. Sometimes both hands grasp the short staff held sideways and downward and move it forward and backward as though rowing. It is even grasped at the center with the right hand alone and held horizontally at shoulder height, as though it were a harpoon. In this position the dancing person will quickly glide along the area of the fire, and another person will do the same in a path close to him, but in such a manner that the two move past each other in opposite directions from one exit to the other.

X 881 535 769 152 Meanwhile the mourner will utter short laments. After a few minutes he will sit down and repeat his show of grief in long sentences. For example, on the second evening old Mary sadly cried out while the dancing was going on: "At that time when my parents, my uncle, and my aunt were still living and performed in the kíkeaw hut, a great many people were gathered together. All of them knew the game well and all were enjoying it. Today we are but a very /925/ few. We hardly know how to perform the kíkeaw beautifully. That makes me very sad!" On the next evening I heard the following words from the same Mary: "Ah, how poor we Yamana are today! Only a few of our people are still living. That makes me indescribably sad. In my memory I see the many who were with me in the kíkeaw for the first time; today I am the only one left of all of them!" She was immediately joined by her husband Richard: "At the time when my mother gave birth to me it was very nice among us Yamana; there were still many people living and we were a large family. But today I am in a very poor state, for I am alone in the world! My brothers and sisters are dead, my parents have not been living for a long

/925 cont./

X881 X535 769 152

time, my uncle and aunt are long since gone. Who wouldn't be sad to be all alone here in this world as I am!"

Meanwhile Gertie was rubbing a lot of charcoal powder on her face. Then she excitedly rose from her place and began in a wild tone: "How sad is our lot! Last winter another of my kinsfolk died. Only a very small remnant of us Yamana has remained behind!" Then, as though mad, she glided back and forth through the Great Hut. Her sister Adelheid had drawn a single black line across her right and left cheek (Fig. 86, a) and remained squatting in her place. Both of them wept for an aunt who had recently passed away.

X881 769 152

Once old Whaita also cried out into the general singing the following words of grief: "Alas, poor me! I am completely orphaned, for last winter my very last kinsman died. Now I am alone in this world!" His wife who sat next to him sobbed loudly and wept bitterly: "Yes, it is true, you are all alone in the world! Your family had its home in the west and was once large. It is true, you are now the last of your large family. But these two whites who have come to us (338) raise our spirits. They have

338. Very conspicuously, by glance and gesture, she points to Gusinde and Koppers.

become Yamana and are therefore related to you. So cheer up!"

Almost every evening some participant will show his grief. Occasionally several people or the greater part of them will follow this example, so that a general lamenting, weeping, whimpering, and moaning commences. After the group as a whole has calmed down, one person or another continues his sobbing until far into the night; no one stops him.

X881 533

4. Free Interjections. Proof of the complete freedom with which each participant in the Great Hut may express his innermost feelings is given by the impromptu words which he scatters through his singing. He is permitted to do this any time of day. Usually he contents himself with a few short sentences. The words of one will sometimes stimulate his neighbor to /926/ carry on the same thought or to supplement it. When almost all the people take part in the common singing in the evening, the various interjections not only follow one another directly, but also are given

/926 cont./

simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of hóhohohohõ. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate Xéxaus. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339) among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

X881 537 152 609

/929 cont./ the whole island [Navarino] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

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Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "čiéxaus." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their utterances and emphasizing their assertions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a cry of curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "čiéxaus" sounds like a cry of despair.

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Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yetáita (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (345) the

345. See Koppers (a):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to incite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yetáita is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yetáita still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yetáita is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this čiéxaus hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yetáita; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /930/ to push this Yetáita, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yetáita's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (346)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

346. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed Santiago, the leader. At these words, an

/930 cont./

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amused grin flitted over his face, and stealthily pointing with his finger, he whispered: "He [Santiago], too, has a foot sticking out of his blanket!"

Yetáita. Just go on dancing!" Fixedly Santiago stares at one spot on the ground. After about ten minutes he sighs with relief: "At last Yetáita has completely disappeared. But I still see the hole through which he descended. I must close that, too. So dance on!" After a few minutes he cries joyfully: "Even that deep hole is closed now. All I hear is a faint rumbling in the far distance. Yetáita has finally left us altogether! So stop dancing and rest yourselves!"... Scarcely an evening goes by during which Yetáita is not driven away with at least one or two loud utterances.

X881 625 S33

5. Interjections by the Guard. It is well known that the so-called guard, winefkeʷa, has a special position in the čiɣaus celebration. He is not only characterized by a particular facial painting (p. 684), but he may even wear a feather decoration reserved for the yékamuš. No one was able to explain why he has this privilege; they said: "It has always been like that!" Moreover, he has a definite song, more exactly, two melodies which are noticeably different from the group singing and which he alone intones. He does so when the group singing has died out. His rendition is very melodious and sonorous. Not even his assistants may accompany him.

X881 625

Outside the Great Hut the guard demonstrates that he is an alert guardian of this sanctuary who will terrify and drive away outsiders (p. 684). Inside the čiɣaus hut he repeatedly assumes the role of the furious winefkeʷa whose name he bears (347). In

347. This word means leucophaeus scoresbii, the fierce predatory bird of the high seas (Fig. 82).

March, 1922, Richard held this position. In the late afternoon of March 11, after the participants had again taken their seats in the Great Hut, he placed himself next to the main entrance and acted as though he had just entered. His face was white; his mouth and

/932 cont./

the people inside what the others out there are doing. In the midst of the low singing of the others Chris said: "Alas, poor me! I do not know much [to say], but I feel the urge to sing. So I shall begin and sing with the melody of the others to give them courage and stimulate them to sing!" Interrupting him, Richard cried out loudly: "I almost flew upward!"

After a few minutes he slipped toward the main exit and outside crawled up the hut framework; he wanted to frighten everybody. He boomed out a command: "Start dancing with hambf, hambf, hambf (351)!" After a pause: "I am still up

351. This word is constantly repeated during the rhythmic dance movement.

here [on the hut framework]!" Inside, the singing stopped. "The one that's crying over there [namely, a small child in the cookhut] I shall fetch over here, so that it won't die!" After a while the singing started up anew. "I almost caught this boy! -- This time he got away with a single wound. -- You can only see the feathers of another one (352). -- You over there [in the cookhut]

352. This furious predatory bird pursues one bird after another and is so rough with them that all their feathers fly (cf. footnote 347).

must bestir yourself and always have something on hand to eat. Be careful and pay attention to everything I say!" Repeatedly the answer was "awli." Then Richard climbed down from the hut framework and crawled back into the Great Hut.

After a while he began again: "I am inside here up on the ceiling [like a bird that has lifted itself in flight]!" Immediately Chris stopped singing and excused himself: "Unfortunately my voice is giving out and I cannot very well continue. So I shall stop singing."

Richard began again: "I am not going to hurry to leave here. Nevertheless I should like to set out soon." Voices from outside: "No, do not be in a hurry!" He: "It seems you do not like to see

/937 cont./

relieved that I can accompany these two strangers here in the [illegible]!" Animated talk by the others.

Finally Thomas announced: "My stomach will soon be empty now. I shall probably be off again in a short time." Julia and Rosa, following the example of the others, exchange a few words in Halakwulup, their own language. The usual dance-competition begins between Mary and her husband. Then she says: "These two [Halakwulup] women speak the language of the west. When I was a little child I came to this region [in the central part], so I forgot the words of the westerners [the Halakwulup]." The wineskowa cried: "Are you still awake?" Response: "awáj!" He: "That is good of you to be still awake, as I am, too." Again: "awáj!" He: "My stomach is getting lighter. Soon it will be quite empty!"

For about 20 minutes Pedro repeated a sonorous melody. It sounded so pleasant that everyone listened silently. Thomas continued: "I almost fell asleep, it is so warm here by the fire. Are all you women over there already asleep?" Response: "No." He: "Good, then tell me when you want to lie down to sleep!" They reply only with "awáj." He: "Well, then I won't tell you when I am going away from here." Response: "awáj."

Suddenly all the ul-ála stood up, arousing all the adults. The general belief is that the candidates may not squat too long in one place. If they did so, they would become victims of an illness, they would be weak and sleepy, remain glued to the ground, as it were, and the illness would soon cause death.

Pedro talked to himself: "These Whites have stayed a long time among us Yamana. Molly Lawrence will be surprised that the two strangers have not returned to her [in Puma Bonsolino]. Well, they are safe with us and will stay some time longer!" The singing stopped because the people had become tired. Only Thomas took it up again and interjected in rhythm: "I am glad that soon I shall be able to end my song, for I, too, am tired!" Emilia joined him: "Fog from the west is covering my eyes, I can no longer see anything!"

Several adults stood up. They arranged themselves in two short rows. From the center of the last one row extended to one exit, the other to the other exit; the men at the head of each row

/937 cont./
X881 faced each other. Their followers held their heads in the same
535 direction. /938/ The two rows first moved away from each other without turning; they stepped backward until the last one in the row came up against the entrance. Then they again came toward each other, always with very short steps, swinging the dance staffs with a rolling motion up and down. While these two rows were moving back and forth, Emilia seized a glowing stick of wood and, swinging it up and down, danced past the two rows.

X881 Again the wineflkeya called over to the kitchen women:
625 "Are you already asleep?" They replied briskly: "No, we are not yet asleep!" He: "If I should leave here, I'll let you know." Response: "Good." He: "Be attentive now." Response: "awfi." The singing went on for a long time without interruption. Meanwhile Mary took a bit of charcoal, rubbed it in the palms of her hands and smeared the powder first on William's face and then on her own, as a sign of mourning. She cried out: "We are all in mourning!" It was only after a long pause that Thomas spoke again: "It is not time to sleep yet." Response: "We are awake." He: "I am watching things here. In case I should notice anything, I shall let you know." Response: "awfi." He: "Pay attention, you out there!" Then the games began, with which this evening was concluded. The wineflkeya was not heard from again.

X881 On March 12, 1922, the brief breakfast was over around
80 eight o'clock. All the inmates of the [illegible] hut immediately started their painting. Everyone was eagerly concerned about the uiwala, for they were to go to the woods immediately to gather a lot of firewood. Meanwhile several persons, one after the other, joined the solo singer, and soon the rest of the group chimed in. Scarcely was the facial painting of the uiwala finished when they were summoned to the dance. They and a few adults stood pressed
[535] close together. With very short, mincing steps they glided over the ground and moved very slowly beside the fire from one exit to the other.

Thomas had painted himself to resemble a wineflkeya and stationed himself beside the main entrance. He cried loudly: "I delayed a little on my way here, that is why I arrived late!" The response came from the cookhut: "awfi, we heard it!" He meant

/949 cont./

into the adult circle. The ʔéʔeyu hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ʔkeʔa, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the wineʔhiʔwa, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the ʔéʔeyu celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaʔti and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the uʔwʔala to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file, headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the room. Their leader now accompanies one uʔwʔala after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hiʔakuyʔelan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The uʔwʔala is herewith declared a full-fledged member of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hiʔakuyʔelan. Occasionally at this time, but usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor a special gift consisting of three items.

/1136 cont./
TG5 came to his aid with your canoe when he was drowning?" The
U53 opponent replies: "I was much farther away from him than you,
S71 I was on the Wollaston Islands. It was far easier for you to help
him because you were near him." Alluding to the murder, one
man says: "How could you be so careless! You should have
known that this murderer had murderous intentions!" The answer:
"You are guilty. For if you had an inkling of it it was up to
you to inform everybody and that one [the murdered one] would
have been spared!" The verbal exchange continues for a long
time. It often leads to attacks on personal conduct, to re-
minders of former quarrels and differences of opinion. Many be-
come excited, and the combatants seriously attack each other.
For some of them this opportunity is very welcome because a
long-suppressed desire for revenge can be gratified without
punishment. There is great confusion during the battle and
sometimes a certain amount of brutality, depending on how much
tempers are aroused, for the opponents facing each other charge
about several times, or three or four persons will pounce upon a
single one who is then in a serious predicament. After about an
hour the combat is declared over when a few influential old
people return to the assembly hut. The rest of the people follow.

Inside, the customary song of mourning is resumed and
R5 continues for a time, its duration depending on the hour of the
S33 day and the state of mind of those present. One person or an-
•S35 other will get up and dance through the hut, following the sim-
ple rhythm of the song with his body movements and the gentle
swing of the short dance-staff. Finally the yenaiskondjua is
concluded, following the clear, definite signal by one of the
leading old people that all the participants should lay down their
clubs, paddles, and dance staffs with an audible tap on the
ground. While the singing was going on, /1137/ all the people
were holding these things in their hands. After that each one
spends long minutes in thoughtful concentration, and only then
does he silently creep out. He goes to his dwelling and quietly
resumes his ordinary tasks.

R5 This affair regularly lasts eight hours and longer. Only the
adults take part. In order to prevent any disturbance or distrac-
tion by their own or by strange children, some of the children

/1938 cont./

dwellings. They are to sit in a tight group approximately mid-way between the camp and the Kiva hut. Then he goes back in. Immediately a fearful, threatening howl begins in the Great Hut; all the men howl and groan at the top of their lungs to indicate that the mighty Tâkuwa spirit has arrived in the Kiva hut with intention of snake-ing, torturing, malevowing, and assaulting everybody. The spirit does this personally as well as through various spirits which will soon appear before the eyes of all. Fear and terror are stamped on the faces of the women and children. The men howl and yell at intervals of several minutes, and each time the women tremble anew. Meanwhile it has grown dark.

Scarcely has the yelling of the men subsided when Masewiikwa places himself in front of the Great Hut and rapidly waves his outstretched arm in the air horizontally, describing a half-circle. He makes a loud, drawn-out hissing sound which is to invoke the fire spirit, known as Kwangûwa. This spirit dances with mincing steps back and forth along the path on which the dances are performed. His arms are bent at right angles, and swing both hands he carries a staff at eye level. His body has many red and black horizontal lines upon a white background. He glides along, dancing up and down the path several times, until the leader calls him back with a sign made with his arm. Instantly loud yelling and howling begin inside. Scarcely has it ceased when Masewiikwa again places himself beside the Great Hut and loudly calls a warning to the women that they must all stay in their places and await the appearance of other spirits. At brief intervals the yelling of the men inside is repeated.

Again the leader steps outside and announces to the women in an anxious voice: "The feared Kolongûhu has just come down and will present himself immediately!" Meanwhile the men have painted themselves with a few white diagonal stripes on their upper bodies and in the center a similar longitudinal stripe. Soon the entire assembly of men inside begins to sing hûj hûhu, hûj hûhu in a monotone and with a hammering rhythm. At first it is scarcely audible; then it grows louder and is slowly accelerated. Meanwhile six men arrange themselves close together in a row, each placing his arms over the shoulders and around the neck of each of his neighbors. Moving sideways in short steps this intertwined row

/1330 cont./

goes straight out to the dance place. Here it halts for about two minutes, merely repeating hã̃ hũ̃ã̃...constantly. At a sign from the leader this Kalampãla troupe withdraws, singing, and its rhythmic call slowly dies away. A few minutes later it reappears in /1331/ exactly the same way. While it is still outside repeating its uninterrupted hã̃ hũ̃ã̃, a very loud yelling begins inside the Great Hut with a clearly distinguishable rhythmic put, put, which soon drowns out the call of the Kalampãla group. The latter now marches slowly back into the Kina hut. By way of explanation it must be added here that this row does not represent the Kalampãla spirit himself, but that the men are putting on this dance at his direction.

Scarcely has this group disappeared when all the men begin howling in an unusually alarming way. Since I am sitting among them, I can observe how Santiago rolls up a thick, dry ox hide and vigorously beats it against the smooth ground. Each beat is followed by a sudden outcry of the men, which is repeated several times. The whole procedure is supposed to fool the women and say to them: The Tẽnowa spirit present in this Kina hut in its malicious rage intend to strike down all the men. But they are defending themselves, so that with their united superior strength they will succeed this time in freeing themselves from this mighty spirit and in suppressing it. But every man is wounded in the bitter struggle. Two old women who are permitted to be in the Kina hut dash out, filled with terror. Previously they have poked their nostrils with a small pointed stick, and thick drops of blood are falling for all to see. They run toward the women and children still assembled in front of the Kina hut. The group clearly recognizes the situation and is alarmed by it. Indeed, they all get up and hasten to their dwellings where they shut themselves in and remain quiet. Someone summons the courage to ask the two old women compassionately: "Whatever has happened to you?" The two answer with feigned terror: "We had to struggle with Tẽnowa over there; it beat us until we bled, we had great difficulty in saving ourselves!" These words fill everybody with terror.

For half an hour the women and children are given a little respite in their dwellings. Now and then a few howling cries are

/1331 cont./
repeated in the Kina hut. The leader of the festival again steps out and shouts over to the camp: "The women must again assemble and come closer, soon the son of Kalampáša will come down from above and present himself before the eyes of all!" All the inmates of the camp immediately follow this summons and again squat down in the spot they quitted just about thirty minutes before. Meanwhile Santiago is being prepared for the proposed spirit-appearance. He already has wide horizontal and vertical stripes all over his body. Now four white rings are painted on his arms and the spaces between filled with red. His legs are covered from top to bottom with white. The mask that is slipped over his head has several narrow horizontal red lines on a uniformly white background.

Again the men in the Great Hut utter their howling calls. The women and children anxiously await the event that has been announced. /1332/ Inside, meanwhile, Santiago has been practicing the dance peculiar to this spirit. Again Mašemikens steps out beside the Kina hut; this time he keeps his face covered with a piece of dark material. He utters a strong hō in a high-pitched voice several times in the direction of the group of attentive women. Then he turns about-face, with his back to the group, turns his head toward the hut entrance, stretches out his right arm, and makes a semicircle in the air with a vigorous jerk, at the same time hissing a loud and long drawn-out s sound. Santiago obeys this signal and comes dancing out, portraying the son of the Kalampáša spirit. With his legs far apart, he steps sidewise along the dance course, tripping lightly, extending one foot and drawing the other after it. He moves back and forth several times; Mašemikens follows him with his glance and finally summons him back into the hut with the same arm movement. Here he is received with a loud, howling, long drawn-out hō hō... by all the people present. This soon changes to a rapid la la... and gradually dies away as a sustained, low gā gā... The women interpret the complete quiet that now prevails in the Kina hut as a sign that the "spirits" have withdrawn. Hence they, too, leave their places and silently hasten back to their dwellings. The men, for their part, wash off the painting and get dressed. Now they can take a rest, knowing that they have struck terror in the hearts of the women and children.

/1359 cont./

a. Preparation and Presentation

X575

The men assembled in the Kina hut see to it that a few spirits are presented to the women every day. They choose the evening hours as a suitable time for this, when people stay at home anyway. The obscurity of the night is also supposed to contribute its share in covering the performer so well that he cannot be recognized by the audience in the camp. If the men are in a good mood, the spirit appearances go on until long after midnight. Rain and snow often interrupt and hinder the men's performance, but they will not let their gay mood be spoiled, and on another occasion they fully make up for what was impossible earlier. In any case they can prolong the entire affair at will.

Even though women may be admitted to the Great Hut, it is a matter of principle that only men may assume the role of spirit. It gives each of them great satisfaction to be able to appear before the others. Older men, however, are not so bent on doing it, and no one is permitted to step outside who has not learned the remarkable dance of the spirit to be portrayed. Again and again the younger men /1360/ rehearse, also merely for their own entertainment; the men present instruct and criticize them. Each one has a favorite role in which he feels most comfortable. This means that some spirits are presented to the women much oftener than others for which it is not easy to find a performer.

X575
535

It is strange that the Yamana content themselves with a single type of movement for the great majority of spirits to be portrayed. The performer draws the bark mask over his head and supports it on either side with the palms of his hands pressed against the region of the ears. He holds his bent arms at shoulder level. The movement itself is a sidewise stride. One leg is placed far to one side, the body is inclined in the same direction, and the other leg is slowly drawn in. It is a light, springy dance and at the same time a gentle skip and a lively stride up and down the long dance course. At the end of the course the performer, without stopping, merely changes direction and once more disappears into the Great Hut. In exceptional cases a

/1360 cont./ spirit will sometimes stand motionless for a few minutes at the end of the dance course. As a rule every spirit reappears after an interval of a few minutes, and this may be repeated from two to five times as he chooses or according to his effect on the audience if they are enjoying it.

If the women and children are to be shown one of the many spirits, the performer must, of course, appear with a particular painting. The men are content to use the customary colors, black, white, and red. It is not necessary to be painfully exact in the drawing because the spectators stand far away. Most often red or black lines and stripes, small circles and semicircles, dots and dashes are painted on a white background in a certain arrangement. Using his incisors a man will scrape off a layer from a lump of chalk the size of a fist, mix the fine powder with saliva by making chewing motions, and apply this mixture by rubbing it on with his hand or fingers. A person who has been smeared with it stands beside the fire so that the color will quickly dry. Red and white pigments are sometimes mixed with blubber, sometimes applied dry. The mask is painted with just as little care, and the drawings on it coincide roughly with those on the body of the performer. The latter does not do the painting himself. This is done by other men, and the leader likes to take part because he is usually the one who decides on the decoration. It is applied only to the front of the body, for only this is visible to the eyes of the women and children. After each appearance the men carefully wash off the colors. While the painting is being done, the men constantly amuse themselves with all kinds of jokes. Once when they were preparing for the Hístuku performance and the large amount of white pigment applied to their bodies was dry, many of them could hardly be recognized. /1361/ Maŝemikems, with a smirk, surveyed the group of men and asked jokingly: "Where in the world is the man who calls himself Thomas? I don't see him any more! He was here just a minute ago." Thomas understood the jest and replied: "I am big enough so that everybody ought to see me (304)!" The whole company laughed.

304. He was about a head taller than Maŝemikems himself.

/1367 cont./

to now have been standing in front of their huts watching, hasten back in, overjoyed. Each one draws a white line, a handbreadth wide, from her neck to her navel and a red line, the width of a finger, from the corners of her mouth to her ear lobes. Inside the Great Hut the yẽkamuĭ paints his whole body red, and over this he paints a few large white dots and a white line the width of a hand from his neck to his navel. Again he steps out of the Great Hut and all the men he has brought back to life follow him. The women hasten toward them from the dwellings. In accordance with instructions from the yẽkamuĭ, the men crowd together and the women form a ring around them. Immediately this ring around the men begins to move in a rhythm which the men accompany by stamping and rapidly and continuously repeating ĭikuĭĭli in a monotone. The women enjoy themselves in this way for some time; they want to announce their happiness over the fact that their men have been given back to them. At a signal from the yẽkamuĭ the two groups disperse and separate (307).

307. This performance shows a great deal of similarity to the appearance of Kataix in the Kloketen; he, too, takes great pleasure in torturing and murdering the men (Vol. I, 960).

BD:135 gives čiñũgũ, "painted all over with spots and bands of white, danced about naked and in frantic manner, and was supposed to come up through the earth and pretended to kill the man in the Ceena" /cited in English/.

The performance of Yamĭalakemana is disquieting and exciting for the women. This spirit was and is a dangerous murderer. He is not visible to the women in the camp; instead he rages about among the men and the women can plainly hear it. There are no special preparations necessary for this performance. The leader simply stands beside the hut entrance once, and in a voice filled with fear, he calls over to the camp: "We are faced with something terrible; a dangerous spirit has just announced himself! Woe to us defenseless men!" The latter immediately commence a pitiful howling. The women show outward signs of pity and

/1373 cont./

The Hístuku performance has historical value, so to speak. While the men are preparing for it, the leader gives a signal and there begins an unvarying, constantly repeated hóitu, hóitu... on the same pitch and with sharp emphasis. The force and tempo of this call slowly increases in order to attract the attention of the women in the camp. Meanwhile the participants paint their bodies white. A red arc as wide as a finger is drawn across the forehead, with its ends pointing downward. Then, shouting loudly, the men arrange themselves one behind the other. They squat down so far that they support themselves with both fists and their buttocks almost touch the ground. They can move forward only in short steps. When the first men in this column are just visible, a few older /1374/ women hasten to the field and await the men. The latter keep their squatting position, but form a closed circle. The women approach and walk along the outside of the circle. They gently slap each man with a piece of leather or with the hand, and the man immediately falls over as though he had been killed. The women hastily depart. Not until after about ten minutes, during which no one in the camp stirs, the men cautiously get up and, deeply bent over and one behind the other, go back to the Great Hut without a sound. They quietly wash off their painting and in an undertone converse very gaily, for, after all, they have not been killed and have not been murdered by the women. Hístuku is the spirit of the fur seal, tépa (Arctocephalus australis). At the time of the great struggle in Yéaalága he moved in the same clumsy way he does today, and many women fell upon him in order to kill him. That is exactly what happens now in this performance (311).

311. This scene is almost exactly like the Hoikan scene in the Klokesten of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 997). SD:282 also speaks of this performance "before the women and children as spectators" /cited in English/.

All the plays listed here, which I experienced personally, do not exhaust the long list. SD mentions many additional ones. For example, SD:170, kiléwlaka, the performance of the sea

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men. But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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517 sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to
526 imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive.
Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport,
857 so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kahleka*, another between two groups known as *augiana*.

524 Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-
857 my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball-game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

533 Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (op. cit., p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *telania*, are songs of mourning; the *arua* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jucas* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the
535 dances are called *nona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

526 The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

578 In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according
628 to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General mêlées, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges sponsors the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

628 The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1884, p. 234.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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sang, seated in the central part of the lodge. Finally a mock battle between the sexes was staged.

Such then was the *shishdus* ceremony. On it the Yahgan believed their well-being depended, and without it no one could have any standing in the community. In fact each individual repeated the performance two or more times, but received preferential treatment after the first course.

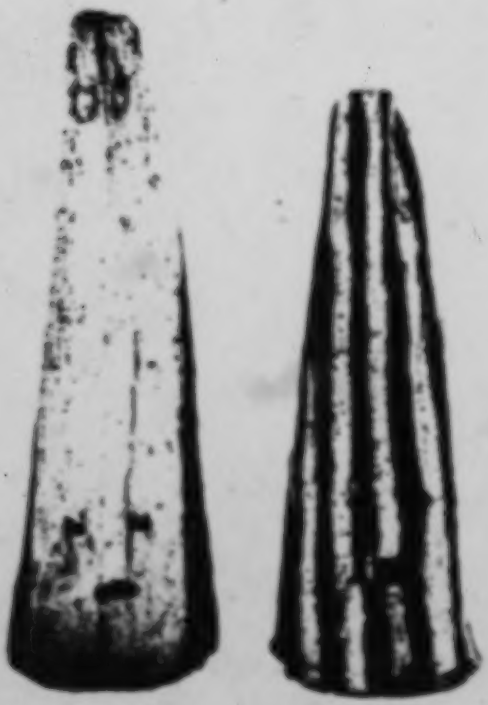

FIG. 92.—Yahgan dance masks. Height of *a*, 27 in. (14/2259, 2258)

After having experienced the *shishdus*, Yahgan men were allowed to enter the *kina* ceremony. This rite resembled the Ona *klóketen*. Gusinde and Koppers believe that it originated among the Ona, pointing out that inequality of the sexes was foreign to Yahgan precept and that it was not taken so seriously by the Yahgan as the Ona. Rev. Thomas Bridges speaks of the ribald laughter among the Yahgan women when a mask fell off a supposed spirit, thus revealing his human character.

This ceremony fell into disuse among the Yahgan as early as the eighties of the last century; but it was revived in 1922 for the benefit of Gusinde and Koppers, to whose accounts of it the reader is referred. While differing in details, it was essentially like the Ona rite except that the treatment of the candidates neither lasted so long nor was so severe as among the Foot Indians.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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In figs. 92 and 93 are illustrated some of the masks used by the Yahgan. The material is either bark (fig. 92) or seal-hide (fig. 93), cut to pattern and sewed together with whalebone and gut respectively. There is usually a small opening at the top for ventilation. As Yahgan paints were not waterproof, a single mask could be adorned to represent many characters by the simple expedient of washing and repainting it.

As to the characters represented by the Yahgan, in fig. 92, *a*, is the rainbow, distinguished by broad red, white, and black bands; *b* has alternate red and white stripes, and it represents a smelt-like fish. In fig. 93, *a*, is a model of the *kuli'pasku* ghost mask, while *b* represents the sea-lion. The wearers of these masks painted their bodies and limbs with similar decorative patterns.

a b

FIG. 92.—Model Yahgan dance masks. Height of *b*, 10 in. (14/2862)

RELIGION

Although it has been repeatedly stated on excellent authority that the Yahgan had no real religion, I think it definitely established that they had religious beliefs and practices.

The Yahgan world was peopled by innumerable unseen beings: ghosts (*kushpig*) of departed shamans, spirits of the sea, the rocks, and the trees. These people, for the greater part, were malicious by nature, resentful of intrusion on their privacy, and, when seen by man, terrifying in aspect. Solitary travelers might suddenly find themselves facing a fierce spirit across the light of his camp-fire,

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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Mark paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yeoulatchemoine*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95).

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 3 m. (16/2206)

and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or subtlety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.